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# Making of Al'Fatah Kashmir Armed Resistance

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# Making of Al'Fatah

## Kashmir Armed Resistance

The freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir is having peculiar character, embedded with religious, cultural, geographical and `Nationalistic Maxims`, to upkeep our prestige and honour as Algerians, Palestinians and others have done. The battle between India and Kashmiris is like an elephant and a mosquito. An elephant is a huge animal [ with strong body, large tusks, long trunk and broad ears], is distracted by a small mosquito. The mosquito does not have any weight before giant elephant. Commonly the combat between small creature and a large animal is unequal and funny. But mosquito engages elephant[ stealthily, secretly and furtively—to others it looks like a lame man attempting to scale Mount Everest]. But mosquito maintains its cool, perseverance and dedication tries to overcome impediments and raises hurdles in the race of running down mammoth elephant. India having military might, powerful diplomatic channels is of course like an elephant. In case of guerilla warfare—were a small group engages enemy with much larger capability and fights armies much bigger in size— main objective of guerilla is to engage enemy and secure political motives, which may include political ideology, reestablishment of lost nationhood or fight against oppression and exploitation. The guerilla tries to win his political motives by operating and acting on three fronts—political, military and economic. If only five percent of the population supports the resistance struggle, it will yield hundred percent results, however education and health services should not get affected and thus excluded from the ambit of resistance struggle in terms of strikes etc.

**Consultancy: Institute of Public Policy Research and Development (IPPRD)—Kashmir**

By December 1966, Zehgeer and his group initiated a modest project launch, mailing posters bearing a map of India with Jammu and Kashmir marked as a separate entity in red ink. Sent out to government officials, politicians and influential private individuals. The "Red Kashmir" posters created a minor sensation, particularly since elections to Jammu and Kashmir Assembly were scheduled to be held in 1967.

On the night of 3rd February, 1967, Friday,10.00 PM the sentry, Constable Charan Dass of 45 Battalion (Border Security Force) at Nawakadal Bridge was assaulted with daggers and after inflicting injuries on his chest snatched away his 303 Rifle loaded with 5 rounds. Sentry screamed, "*Kaka Mein Mara Gaya [Kaka, I have been killed ],"* calling, an associate posted in the vicinity for security. The sentry latter on succumbed to his injuries and claimed by Red Kashmir — reportedly carried out by Zehgeer himself, accompanied by Syed Sarwar[1] —were charged for murdering Indian Security person at Nawakadal, along with, Nazir Ahmad Wani and Fazal-ul- Haq Qureshi, Syed Sarwar, Mohammad Asharaf Baba, Abdul Hamid Shah and Ghulam Nabi Hajam[2], when Mohammad Farooq Shah [ Farooq Rehmani] was caught by police, his interrogation soon led the Jammu and Kashmir Police to Mohammad Aslam Wani and Zahoor Ahmad Shahdad,and the exposure of connection of them with Red Kashmir. Syed Sarwar who was in Delhi was also arrested, several key members of Red Kashmir went underground— GRZ floated an idea to launch an indigenous armed struggle, just like Al` Fatah, later arrested by Police, he had been successful for getting some support from likeminded friends in Pakistan and received some kind of tips related to Guerilla warfare mainly on behavioural sciences (war psychology ), first by Fazal Haq Qureshi@ Faiz and Nazir Ahmad Wani@Asad, who went to Pakistan, in a manner not to involve Pakistan, as a state backing armed struggle of Kashmir – soon started formulating armed resistance cells in Kashmir.

By September 1967, again Red Kashmir had recovered enough confidence to resume operations. In the same month Nazir Ahmad Wani and Syed Sarwar crossed CFL into Pakistan, travelling through the mountains of Bandipora with the aid of Mir Ahmad Gujjar, both men were trained in the use of small arms.

In October 1967 Jammu Kashmir Revolutionary Movement, a low profile political resistance organization was launched in Srinagar.

Nazir Ahmad Wani and Syed Sarwar both returned across CFL in November 1967, this time across Sialkot—Ramgarh border in Jammu region with the aid of Nazir Ahmad Malik. They started recruiting youth in the first instance, six more went into the manifold of Red Kashmir, like Mohammad Ashraf Manhas, Iftikar Ahmad Paul, Sahibzada Mohammad Amin, who also went to Pakistan for training.

In April 1968, Zehgeer was released from prison, Abdul Rashid Dar met Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer at Taj Hotel, Srinagar, where they informally got introduced to each other. Later on Zehgeer met Dar at his residence in Bul Bul Nowgam Anantnag and motivated him to support the armed resistance movement politically to be started later [3]. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh@Papaji, leader and President of the Plebiscite Front met Ghulam Rasool Zegeer in the same month, facilitated by Abdul Rashid Dar and promised full support to him but he was not clear about Zehgeer's intentions [Armed struggle]. Then GRZ and Abdul Dar use to meet quiet often.Sometimes at the residence of Abdul Rashid Dar and mostly at the annexe of Chowalgam, Kulgam, where Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer was putting up as a contractor. It is place where from Al Fatah like module emerged and Gulzar Ahmad Khaki— the senior most member of YML— was the first recruit of this armed resistance group in South Kashmir, introduced by Abdul Rashid Dar.

In July 1968 Nazir Ahmad Wani travelled across the Ramgarh—Sialkot border into Pakistan for the second time, now with Zehgeer himself, which paved a way for the establishment of new armed struggle in Kashmir. So, late 1968 an armed resistance group just like Al' Fatah of Palestine— totally indigenous in character, under the commandership of Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer[i] (GRZ) alias Rehman alias Maqbool and alias Gaznavi in Pakistan with its headquarters at Barsoo Awantipora of South Kashmir as safe house called Shalimar. The modus operandi of this low profile armed resistance movement was to highlight Kashmir issue internationally by giving it an indigenous shade without involvement of Pakistan, having its own guidelines, preamble, finances and most importantly political moves hoping to seek diplomatic support of Pakistan and its friendly countries. Much focused on right to self-determination but decide later about the future allegiance or independence [4] …[sic]..! Shortly after their return from Pakistan, Zehgeer had brought two new recruits on board, Mohammad Aslam Wani and Zahoor Ahmad Shahdad, the two planned torob rifles from an armoury used to store rifles for the National Cadet Corps, a government run organization that provides elementary military training to student volunteers. In the event of, the Islamia College Dacoity, as it came to be known. Youth who attacked the security guard was stabbed in the ensuing melee, and his cries of distress attracted the police. One of the attacker, a college student, Mohammad Asharaf Baba was arrested. **Here is the preamble of this armed organization.[Excerpt]—**"The freedom struggle in Jammu and Kashmir is having peculiar character, embedded with religious, cultural, geographical and `Nationalistic Maxims`, to upkeep our prestige and honour as Algerians, Palestinians and others have done. The battle between India and Kashmiris is like an elephant and a mosquito. An elephant is a huge animal [ with strong body, large tusks, long trunk and broad ears], is distracted by a small mosquito. The mosquito does not have any weight before giant elephant. Commonly the combat between small creature and a large animal is unequal and funny. But mosquito engages elephant[ stealthily, secretly and furtively—to others it looks like a lame man attempting to scale Mount Everest]. But mosquito maintains its cool, perseverance and dedication tries to overcome impediments and raises hurdles in the race of running down mammoth elephant. India having military might, powerful diplomatic channels is of course like an elephant. In case of guerilla warfare—were a small group engages enemy with much larger capability and fights armies much bigger in size— main objective of guerilla is to

engage enemy and secure political motives, which may include political ideology, reestablishment of lost nationhood or fight against oppression and exploitation. The guerilla tries to win his political motives by operating and acting on three fronts—political, military and economic. If only five percent of the population supports the resistance struggle, it will yield hundred percent results, however education and health services should not get affected and thus excluded from the ambit of resistance struggle in terms of strikes etc. [sic] [5]."

***Guerilla warfare in Kashmir is a four staged process***— "Initial stage is a painstaking process, recruitment, training, collection of information and setting up of an organizational structure, as guerilla warfare teaches us that anybody whosoever has failed so far achieving their objectives and aims through this type of war has failed due to the fact that he has left the initial stage incomplete.

The success stories before us will be the defeat of United States of America in Vietnam which is in offing, as they have successfully completed their initial stage, similarly Palestinian struggle will yield results as Yasir Arafat also has also made its cadre to complete the initial stage, Ernesto 'Che' Guevara's campaign in Bolivia has failed because they have organisedly achieved passed their initial stage. As a part of guerilla warfare some safe houses and hideouts are to be established in various parts of urban Kashmir.

**1st stage** is civil disobedience, nonpayment of taxes and making political wing visible slowly, there should be a political party, based on nonviolence for a particular time, even to pressurise Indian political forces in Jammu and Kashmir for opposing Indian rule. The military strategy is used to usher forward political aim and diplomatic channels, used to propagate and win support of global community for the cause, seeing that no enemy has been overthrown by political means only. If India is to be defeated, there should be a sustained campaign of economic damage, targeting Airports, Railway lines and Industrial estates[ii] for this purpose movie theatre with tobacconists and liquor shops must be closed, since major portion of the profits go towards India in terms of taxes. A piece of iron inserted in a machine to make it inoperable, or sugar stuffed into the fuel tank of engine, also had the potential means to weaken India economically. So tax protests, protests by unemployed youth and demands by bureaucrats for higher pay all had a role in larger political struggle creating unrest.

**2nd stage** is to create panic among armed forces in Kashmir, laying light ambushes and throwing hand grenades occasionally on them but without any civilian damage. To beat India militarily it is necessary to study India's weaknesses,so we have to be fully equipped with the complete information of the locations of military depoes [depots], ammunition depoes [depots], ordinance factories, petrol depose [depots] and armed forces and their number. We have to know what are the different tactical nos [numbers] being used in different coys [companies], and code signs and code nos. of different divs[divisions], brgs [brigades] and bns [ battalions].

We have also to know fully what are [the] different roads, bridges and national highways most important from the military point of view, so that at any odd time we can damage these and make the movement of the enemy impossible. After having such information, we can make the enemy hurt in all respects, whenever he may desire to attack on us as stated by Praveen Swami in his book, India Pakistan and the Secret Jihad taking quotes from intelligence reports.

The composition of army in every part of the world is like this: 10+1 (Army personnel) construct one section, 3 sections of army make one platoon, 3 platoons of army compose one company,6 companies of army form one battalion, 3 battalions of army build one brigade, 3 brigades of army create one division, least but not last 3 divisions of army put together in a one core[6]. [The structure of divisions in Indian army is 7000-12000, while as in China it is approximately 20,000, although not found in preamble, told by Zehgeer to Nizam] So to know composition of the army, it is just like a bible for an armed guerilla.In this stage ambushes were proposed.

**3rd Stage** [blueprint of the organization] suggested and recommend for the raids upon depots and cantonments.

**4th and the final stage** was to make attacks on large military convoys, depots and even to army garrisons from the base camp, rather a complete war."

Kashmiri youth who is the future of our nation are to be made self-reliant and they are to be imparted tradecraft skills. Therefore, chain of retail outlets and some productive units are to be established to support economy [7].

After establishing firm base in Kashmir with the start of all the forms of resistance to challenge New Delhi rule, if they[India] takes action against us it will be the action against whole nation thereby creating anger among the common masses, henceforth we must act as shepherds, if the violation is done on the herd of people, it will tantamount highest degree of anguish against India, which will serve the cause of freedom movement and will involuntarily involve common stock of people towards resistance movement."

If Kashmir is recognized as an Independent state, there are at least twenty countries ready to accept us internationally ……[sic] including Saudi Arabia[8].

The training pattern of Al' Fatah was unique in nature, sometimes Rehman use to accompany his new recruits to watch films in a local cinema of Islamabad[Anantnag ], like Shaheed and Ankein both in Hindi. This was the part of the training to inculcate

patriotism among Kashmiri youth, preparatory course and were asked to read books like Jahad-e-Islam in Urdu written by Khalil Hamidi, and emphasis was laid on offering five time prayers. Sometimes, he[Rehman] used to ask recruits to collect a material at a specific point or drop, just keep engaged and create curiosity factor, the material collected or dropped at explicit spots was sometimes true and sometimes false in terms of content, to which they later on— came to know, was an activity— called false and true drop— a part of training, which they [Al' Fatah men ] continued to impart to new recruits[9]. So, the scheme of recruitment was closely followed with a core of highly trained persons building a base of educated mainly urban youth and then opening the doors for cadre from the countryside.

Some training tips were:—

1) **Need to know**: Guerrilla warfare is not new; its well documented history stretches back through time. The term "need to know", particularly those related to the military or espionage, describes the restriction of data which is considered very sensitive. Under need-to-know restrictions, even if one has all the necessary official approvals (such as a security clearance) to access certain information, one would not be given access to such information, or read into a clandestine operation especially in guerilla warfare.

2) **Need not to know:** The guerrilla is always on the offense. To be successful he needs surprise, mobility, exact knowledge of the enemy, determination, fire action and shock action. And these, as in warfare generally, will be determined by his armament, his training, his morale, his planning, and co-ordination. In guerilla tactics, an active member must not exceed the limit of information about organization and should not enquire from its immediate boss on the organization's planning unless told as a part of 'need not to know' process.
3) **Know yourself :** You must know what you are able to do and what you are not able to do. You must know the things you do well and the things you do not know well. This requires that you are completely honest with yourself which is sometimes very hard to do. An experienced soldier will know all about their abilities and equipment before they rush off to war. Soldiers receive extensive training in various weapons and hand-to-hand combat in addition to a vast array of knowledge in related fields, similar is the case with guerrilla warfare.
**4)** **Understand your weaknesses and try to overcome them:** In order to know your weaknesses, you must get honest with yourself and listen intently to your boss. You must look at yourself realistically. Once the weakness is identified seek guidance from your trainer about turning that weakness into strength. A quick little phrase that might help remind you of this is "Know it, Grow it, Show it." Which is the only tip to overcome your weaknesses.
5) **Be inconspicuous :** A guerilla is always on offense and he can perform best if remains invisible to the public domain. Sometimes he behaves like a Robin Hood but is always a sheer Samaritan in its actions and deeds, so far as freedom struggle is concerned.
6) **Create self defence within your mind :** Your emotional state is conditioned by your preparation. Effective self-defence training requires a realistic assessment and evaluation of your emotional state in assault situations not simply instruction of *what to do*. It is your emotional state that determines your ability to execute the actions of disrupting your attacker, and thereby creating the opportunity to escape and disengage, which is the natural instinct and the best defence pedagogy.
7) **Preplan and online plan :** A preplan is an activity or its blue print, containing detailed information about a facility or activity that allows people or first responders (police, firefighters, armed freedom fighters etc.) to quickly and effectively respond to any crisis situation at that location, rather a detailed assortment of critical information about your facility that is assembled as part of the pre-incident planning process. While as online plan makes a person especially a guerilla to take a decision in a situation which has proved otherwise to the preplan.
8) **Lack of Inertia:** This tendency is to resist changes in the state of motion and is described as inertia. If one lacks it then he seizes to stop the activity, it seems to him that if there is no sunrise or sunset to give him a sense of direction. There is just he, and this gray place, absolute solitude. Some Al Fatah men were calling it as drag of inertia.
**9)** **Interrogation:** It is a process of questioning adopted by persons especially police to seek information from a person by using language, soft, harsh or third degree method

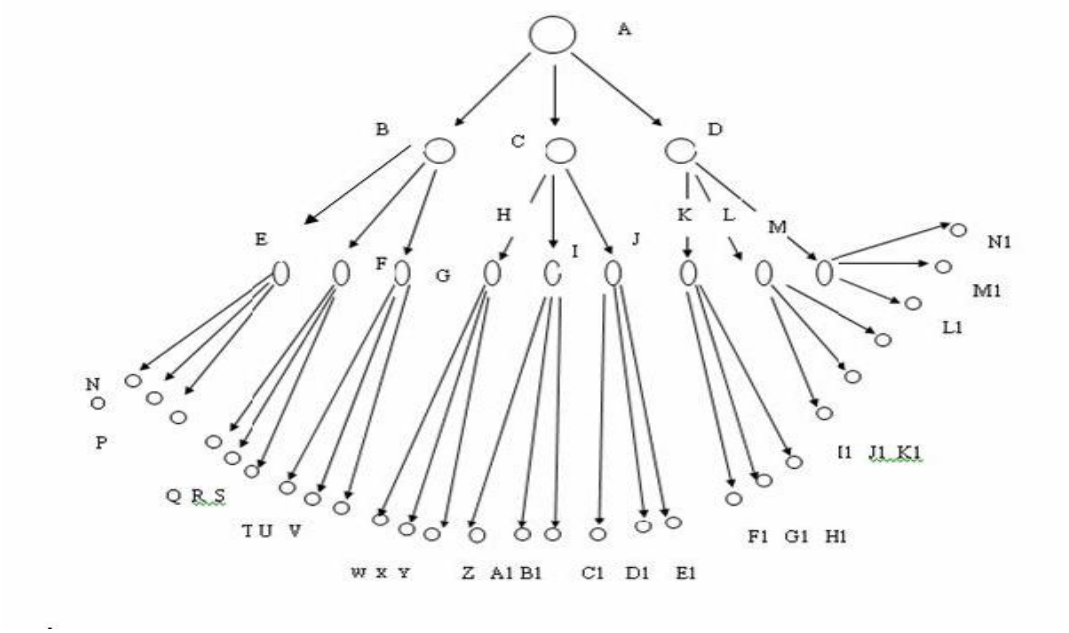
beating burning to bring an individual under psychological trauma so that he or she starts telling or leaking all the secrets.

10) F**alse demonstration**: An inaccurate or erroneous description of an individual or item or to beat an individual in interrogation centres or concentration camps with the impression that the actual person might crack or share a kind of information with the person upon which false demonstration has been executed.
11) **Change of Attitude:** Attitudes can be changed through persuasion and attitude change is a response to communication. Experimental research into the factors that can affect the persuasiveness of a message include:
    - ❖ **Target Characteristics:** These are characteristics that refer to the person who receives and processes a message. One such trait is intelligence - it seems that more intelligent people are less easily persuaded by one-sided messages.
    - ❖ **Source Characteristics:** The major source characteristics are expertise, trustworthiness and interpersonal attraction or attractiveness. The credibility of a perceived message has been found to be a key variable here; if one reads a report about health and believes it came from a professional medical journal, one may be more easily persuaded than if one believes it is from a popular newspaper.
    - ❖ **Message Characteristics:** The nature of the message plays a role in persuasion. Sometimes presenting both sides of a story is useful to help change attitudes. Messages can have;
    - ➢ **Cognitive Route:** A message can appeal to an individual's cognitive evaluation to help change an attitude. This usually applicable to teenagers and can be successfully executed upon the student community.
    - ➢ **Central route:** The persuasion the individual is presented with the data and motivated to evaluate the data and arrive at an attitude changing conclusion.
    - ➢ **Peripheral Route:** Helps in attitude change, the individual is encouraged to not look at the content but at the source.
12) **Cover:** In guerilla combat, the concept of cover refers to anything which is capable of physically protecting an individual from enemy fire.

a) **True Cover:** It refers to guerilla warfare, wherein, the offense cells make covers to protect them and is a part of the psychological combat.
b) **False Cover:** It refers to positive checks within the guerilla organization and mainly a part of diversion process to befool enemy.
c) **Back stop:** To plan a foolproof cover during any kind of activity or operation to evade exposure or arrest.
d) **Individual Security :** Every society starts from an individual rather a person, same is the case with guerilla organization, because person matters in the warfare, henceforth every step must be taken calculated for the armed guerilla's security.
e) **Organizational Security :** Organization is the collection selected people with common aim— to defeat enemy. Therefore, organization matters more than anything else in guerilla warfare.

13) **Camouflage:** Camouflage is the method which allows an otherwise visible organism or object to remain indiscernible from the surrounding environment. Successful camouflage became an essential aspect of modern military tactics since the increase in accuracy and rate of fire of weapons at the end of the nineteenth century. The first recorded large-scale use of camouflage was during World War I. At the beginning of the war the French experienced heavy losses because the troops wore red trousers as part of their uniform. The French established a section DE camouflage in 1915. The camouflage experts were, for the most part, painters, sculptors, theatre set artists and such. This led to a new horizon blue uniform and various camouflage paint schemes for trucks, guns and planes. Units of Camoufleurs who were artists, designers, or architects in civilian life were also largely used by the forces of the UK and the US and to a lesser extent by Germany (see, for example, Lozenge), Italy and Russia. And most successfully demonstrated by Omar Mukhtar in Libya against the occupation of Italy, in Algeria against France and in Vietnam against USA.
14) **Surveillance:** The recruits are trained how to checkmate enemy and keep constant vigil on their movements and to prevent yourself from their watch or surveillance.
15) **Punctuality:** To give accurate timing to your companions , a sort of commitment and a bigger dive towards personal security.
16) **Character:** Life is always a cavernous driving aspiration to achieve honour and dignity for the nation. It is mainly determined by one's etiquettes and the company a person keeps. A freedom zealot [armed guerilla] must have a good reputation in the community and should be having a leadership quality, not to break a promise of commitment, a role model to the younger—a referential point for others.
17) **Fear from getting caught :** A person involved in any clandestine activity has a fear, always lurking in the mind that anybody who looks at him knows about his/her activities, in normal routine it is not so. As a result he/she must come out from this fear and create confidence within.
18) **Watch Guard from Incriminating Material :** Destroy all the incriminating material, as a part of self-defence and do not leave any proof for the enemy. **The training was categorized into two sections: Organizational Security and Personal Security** )

**Guerilla organizational order**
**(Compartmentalization Al' Fatah)**




**Combinations:** Upward down, multiplex— down to upward maintained singly but the decisions were on the basis of sequential interdependence :-

A> AB> BE> BF> BG>ABE> ABF> ABG>EN>EO>EP>BEN>BEO> BEP>ABEN >ABEO>ABEP:F Q>FR>FS>BFQ>B FR>DFS>ABFQ> ABFR>ABFS:GT> GU>GV>BGT>BGU> BGV>ABGT>ABGU>ABGV **( First Guerilla cell ).**

A> AC> CH> CI > CJ> H W > H X > H Y >CHW>CHX>CHY>ACHW>ACHY>IZ>IA1>IB1>CIZ>CIA1>C I B 1 > A C > A C I Z > A C I A 1 > A C I B 1 > J C 1 >JD1>JE1>CJC1>CJD1>CJE1>ACJC1>ACJD1>ACJE1 **(Second Guerilla cell ).**

A>AD>DK>DL>DM>DF1>DKG1KH1>DKF1>DKG1>DKH1>ADKF1>ADKG1>ADKH!>LI1LJ1>LK1>DLI1 >DKJ1>DLK1>ADL1>ADLJ1>AD>LK1>ADLJI>ADLK1>ML1>MM1>MN1>DML1> DMM1>DMN1>ADML1> ADMM1>ADMNI **(Third Guerilla cell )** and so on…… !

Every recruit in the organization was codified by A[Rehman or Maqbool].The codes where read in reverse sequence A as Z, B as Y, C as X, D as W, E as V, F as U, G, as T, H as S, I as R,J as Q, K as P, L as O and M as N, suppose Maqbool, it was written as **Nzjyllo,** and recruitment was done in a way that the person's back ground profile was brought into account and the association with whom he was keeping, preference was given to that person, who was having more than two brothers. Top recruits were asked to write with lemon water with less intensity of ink so that it will be read only under illumination tube lights put behind[10],with the policy of all equal and no Boss.

Judge, Nilkant Ganjoo in a special court issued death sentence for Maqbool Butt on the charges of murdering Amar Chand and Saturday 17th August 1968 issued Black Warrant for the hanging.

In 1968, 10th October[11], Thursday at Srinagar, State Peoples Convention was called by PF, in which Jai Prakash Narain participated to hear from various political parties of Kashmir about the viable solution, Young Men's League was represented by Abdul Rashid Dar,who focused on de-accession [demand Right to Self- Determination] and solving the problems of student community, PF by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh,laid emphasis on restoration of autonomy, Jamaat-e-Islami by Qari Saif-Ud-Din [iii], who was not allowed to speak full as, in the beginning, he spoke against, for the creation of secular State[12]. However, Jai Prakash Narain made the comments in his speech that solution of Kashmir is to be found within the framework of Indian domain or constitution, and most importantly that after 1965 Indo-Pak War, Pakistan has ceased to be party to Kashmir dispute which irked Kashmiri youth rather a sense of resentment aroused among the Kashmiri patriots. In reaction to J.P Narain's avowal, Young Men's League( Students Federation) issued a press statement on 11th October, Friday through its Chief Organiser, Abdul Rashid Dar, strongly condemning political broker sent by the leaders of the Indian Government. The text reads as:—

*The Jammu & Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) expresses its grave concern over the statement made by Shri J.P Narain in State Peoples Convention, Srinagar in which he among other things said that after 1965 Indo-Pak War Pakistan has ceased to be party to Kashmir dispute. We are at loss to understand as to how and on what grounds Mr. Narain has made this statement which is absolutely incorrect and far from the reality. The disturbances which took place in 1965 was the direct result of India's shameful and imperialistic measure to further integrate and Indianise Kashmir. In fact, the 1965 disturbances were the demonstrations of extreme resentment of the people of Jammu & Kashmir against India's colonial policy with regard to Kashmir. That was an attempt to liberate Kashmir from Indian domination. To divert the disturbances in Kashmir, India fanned atmosphere of 1965 Indo-Pak War. After the War India signed Tashkent Declaration which was followed by Indo-Pak agreements. Under those agreements Indians ceded Haji Peer area of Kashmir to Pakistan and in return got Chamb area of Kashmir. Then the commanders-in-Chief of India and Pakistan agreed to minimize the number of their armies in Kashmir. The U.N Military Observers are still posted in this state after 1965 as they were from 1948 cease-fire agreement. The Kashmir problem is as usual on U.N agenda. One third of J& K territory is as usual under the control of Pakistan. In spite of this Mr. J.P Narain is saying that Pakistan is not a party to Kashmir dispute. It seems that he believes in Nazi Germany tactics of saying lies[telling lies] in the hope that repeated telling of lies will be accepted by the people as truth. Pakistan being a party to Kashmir is as clear and true as the sun rises from east. We have a great respect for Mr. J.P Narain. We are sorry to say that by his such a statement, strengthens the doubts, crowding in the minds of Kashmiris that Mr. J.P Narain has come to Kashmir as a political broker sent by crafty and unscrupulous leaders of Indian Government. Mr. J.P Narain must understand that Kashmir is a human and international problem having three parties India—Pakistan— Kashmir. The trump card of deciding this issue lies in the hands of people of the state living on both sides of ceasefire line(CFL), any compromise or settlement without the cooperation of Pakistan is meaningless and can never be accepted by the people of Kashmir.Nor can there be any lasting peace in Kashmir unless the Kashmir problem is settled on the basis The Indian leaders must realize that the patience of the*

*people of Jammu & Kashmir in general and the students and young generation in particular has exhausted.If sense of justice and humanity does not prevail upon the Government of India then people of Kashmir living on both sides of ceasefire line will let with no alternative but to rise like Algerians and liquidate Indian colonialism or be perished with it. The whole sub-continent of India and Pakistan shall have to face the horrors of a decisive war starting from Kashmir.*

*It is high[time] for India to utilize the precious services of Sher-i- Kashmir [Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla] and settle this international problem of Kashmir, honourably and equitably with the cooperation of Pakistan also.*

*The Young Men's League (Students Federation) of Jammu & Kashmir expects Mr. J.P Narain to understand the realities impartially and use his high influence for settling the Kashmir problem with the cooperation of Pakistan so that the reign of peace and prosperity may be drawn on the subcontinent permanently.*

*And ending with :*

*" LONG LIVE SHER-I-KASHMIR*

*LONG LIVE UNITED KASHMIR*

*LONG LIVE WORLD PEACE"*

Breakaway group of Young Men's League( Srinagar faction) in 1968 was represented by Mufti Nazim, besides several others, but lasted in just few days[13].of right to self-determination in consultation and agreement with Pakistan.

In Srinagar Central Jail Maqbool Butt started planning to escape from the prison, Tuesday 22nd October 1968 [iv].

On 13th July 1969, Sunday, a well-defined constitution of Young Men's League was promulgated declaring Abdul Rashid Dar, the President of Party and Sofi Sana Ullah as the general secretary.

The excerpt of the constitution was:—

*The Aims and Objectives of Young Men's League (Students Federation) under section 5 of its constitution.*

i) To organize the students and youth community on the sound lines which will ensure their healthy growth as members of the society.
ii) To educate them about the problems which the students and youth are facing.
iii) To educate its members on the live problems facing the nation.
iv) To mobilize public opinion in support of above aims.
v) To strive to tackle and resolve the difficulties that student community is facing.
vi) To help the students in securing admissions in various institutions ;to help the deserving ones to get scholarships, stipends and other financial assistances and amenities.
vii) To strive to have educational systems so reformed so as to bring it in accordance with the needs of the present times.
viii) To bring up such changes in the syllabi and such formats in the curricula as would make the student community a dynamic, constructive force in the nation after they leaveeducational institutions.

ix) To bring about necessary changes in the system of examinations so as to make these examinations a real test of students ability; and so as to save student community from frustrations and wastage of time and energy that the present system involves.

x) To secure students representations in university senates ;educational boards and other similar forums.

***Section 6***

*The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall take all legitimate steps for the liberation of the nation from political domination of India so as to provide the opportunity of deciding its own future by an impartial plebiscite.*

**Section 7**

The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall take part in all legitimate activities towards the liberation from economic exploitation of peasants; labourers and other exploited classes.

**Section 18**

The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall have friendly relations generally with all People's organizations whose aims and objectives are alike or akin or comfortable with the aims and objectives of this organization. On any issue this organization can have formal alliance with such an organization as referred to in forgoing.

**Section 21**

(a) The Jammu and Kashmir Young Men's League (Students Federation) shall take lively interest in outstanding problems of the nations of the world.

(b) In particular the organization shall keep itself informed and express its collective will in regard to international problems arising from domination of one country over the other in political and economic field.

By the active persuasion as claimed by Mohammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag] in August 1969 Bashir Ahmad Kirmani, Dr. Ghulam Qadir Wani and Advocate Mohammad Afzal [Baramulla] came under the Influence of YML[14].

And in late September 1969, Nissar Hussain Mir and Bashir Ahmad Zargar were asked to report at Hazuri Bagh Srinagar to come with edibles for three days, who reported as per the directions, where they had the glimpse of Maqbool@GRZ. Then by a sign language, both followed up to S.R.T.C yard, where they saw two persons, Mohammad Sayeed Khan and Gulzar Ahmad Khaki and further two more persons joined them not known [ Mohammad Iqbal Agoo and Abdul Hai Ganai@ Aslam ]. Then all arranged bus tickets for Raithan Budgam and boarded an SRTC bus, and directed by GRZ to sit in two seaters at three separate places, Rehman sat in the back seat. Then the bus started plying, after crossing Budgam it was stopped. A man entered into the bus had a formal look, and came down just after a short spell of time later on one of the passenger said ' CID woul',[ man] from intelligence, latter, bus dropped them at Raithan stop. All were directed to follow GRZ and introduced each other in a forest and then again move ahead throughout the night. GRZ lit torch three times, he was reciprocated in the same fashion. Two persons namely Saleem Jahangir Khan and Nazir Ahmad Wani were introduced to them as

trainers for imparting hill training and how to survive without food in the jungle, after spending three days of training all came back[15].

Just like Al` Fatah militant struggle was peculiar in nature, it resorted to two robberies to raise finances for keeping the struggle running, because Pakistan has put the conditions of financial and armed support, if they[Al` Fatah people ] support accession with Pakistan, which was rejected by Zehgeer and other part was not to involve Pakistan in the resistance struggle and to press for Right to Self-Determination [complete freedom of Kashmir ] through armed struggle, to which we came to know in jail[16], so on 2nd April, 1970, Thursday at Pulwama, where they whisked away Rupees seventy two thousand, seven hundred and forty three, and eight six paise (72743.86INR), the salary of teachers to which they purchased land at Barsoo, and have taken away just 65,000 only, with the details as:-

100x100(4 bundles) =40,000(INR) Fresh currency

10x100(20 bundles )=20,000(INR)(Semi Fresh)

5x100(10 bundles)=5,000(INR)(Almost old )

Persons who took part in Pulwama robbery were Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Farooq Ahmad Bhat and Mohammad Iqbal Hashia who were acquainted with the operation of arms and were assisted by Nisar Hussain Mir, Hameed-Ullah Bhat, Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Gh. Hassan Shaksaz, Mohammad Saleem Gilkar, Mohammad Iqbal Beg, Mohammad Iqbal Sheikh, Mohammad Sayeed Khan and Gull Mohammad Mistri [Rafiqi] as mechanic to cut the safe, taken on next day. Names of those people who were active with CPI(ML) in Kashmir, like Chaman Lal, Janki Nath, Yusuf Tarigami and several others as a part of cover, taught in training sessions[17].

Out of this money as a part of the plan an amount of 10,000(INR) was spent on developing long-term cover businesses—Pir Gull Mohammad—a member of the organization from Bejbehara established a poultry farm, so as to offer jobs for organizational members who were financially weak and to serve as a hideout also. Similarly, a cafeteria was stipulated on an amount of 2,000 (INR) at Doda by Abdul Hai Baderwahi, with two purposes behind it one to give job and to generate finances for the organization, most importantly act as a link between Kashmir and Jammu provinces [18] and an amount of 6,000 (INR) was given to Abdul Rashid Dar for making Young Men's League more effective at political front.

There was an alliance between the armed resistance organization(just like Al' Fatah) and PF but not in terms of operations, a compulsion for Plebiscite Front because this armed resistance group was likely to emerge as the tour de force, Abdul Rashid Dar [Young Men's League (Students Organization) ] acted as an important link between Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh and Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, and first meeting between the two was arranged at Chashim-a-Shahi in the middle of April 1970, the mode was tête-à-tête[19].

It was late April 1970 when Abdul Rashid Dar [v] was coming in the vehicle [jeep] of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh at Srinagar Lal Chowk he came down from the vehicle, went into the shop of horticulture department owned by government came back and told Beigh that he had to gift a box of apples to Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University then the jeep came up towards Anantnag, reached Barsoo, Pulwama, he [Dar] asked the driver to stop the vehicle, to purchase a wooden box for apples to be gifted to Vice Chancellor of Kashmir University.It led to several qualms among the top Al' Fatah cadre for leaking the secret [20]. But next day Zehgeer reported

to the residence of Abdul Rashid at Bulbul Nowgam, Anantnag [21] .It was Abdul Rashid Dar who conveyed the news to Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh at his Srinagar residence about the Pulwama robbery, and claimed that he[Dar] had discussed it with Zehgeer, probably Beigh was in know of the whole episode[22]. The issue was revealed in a manner that PF, President had taken a nap on a sofa at his residence, Dar said to Beigh that he has to disclose something unusual before him. Beigh closed both of his ears by his two hands saying 'I have not to hear anything' laughingly, told Dar to vomit, YML, President narrated the tale of Pulwama dacoity in response he[Beigh] said that he was having doubt about it and ensured him for the legal support[23].

Several proposals were put forth to name this armed organization like Al' Fatah, Hizbullah, Liberation Army etc. even Al Barq, which was out rightly rejected by Rehman saying that this kind of militant group is in offing from Kashmir to sabotage the resistance struggle, already Sardar Qayoom Khan of Azad Kashmir in late 1968 or 1969 announced the formation of Al-Mujahideen armed group, with more than 0.1 million recruits are ready to cross CFL, as a part of psychological warfare— in the counter move India floated the chitchats that in Kashmir, there are several groups indulged in arson [Nar Tsoor 'Arson Thieves'] prompted some sporadic incidents of fire, which continued till mid-1970, as a result common Kashmiris in all the fours, even to some areas of Jammu province formed Anti Arson committees to keep constant vigil on every passerby especially late night in every hamlet, Mohalla, town and city[24].

In 1970(August-September) some members of CPIML, were arrested and released after six months on the suspicion of being involved in Pulwama robbery case and in 1971 and were again arrested and then released [vi]. Some of the prominent members of CPI[ML](Naxalite ) of Kashmir who were arrested on the charges of Pulwama robbery because Al' Fatah persons used fake names among the members at Pulwama on the day of dacoity, which include:-

1) Chaman Lal
2) Janki Nath
3) Gulshan Majeed
4) Mohammad Yusuf [Mir Danter]
5) Vijay Zitshi [name not used in dacoity ]
6) Shuban Ji Razdan
7) I.B Zitshi[who eschewed the promotion of a Bank Officer and prefer to remain a trade union leader] (name not used in dacoity )
8) Dr. B.L Koul [name not used in dacoity]
9) Manzoor Ahmad Khaki [name not used in dacoity] and some others.

However,Yusuf Tarigami(Could not be arrested )[25].

CPIML was a group of progressives not headed by a particular person in Kashmir, which became fully operational in 1968 propounding armed struggle and supporting Right to Self-determination of Kashmir [vii].

*Later on two groups of Naxalites in Kashmir[Jammu and Kashmir] emerged, one was led by Ram Paira Saraf, supported by Abdul Kabir Wani [Haanad, Chawalgam Kulgam] and another by Krishen Dev Sethi, supported by Gh. Mohammad Malik and Mohammad Yusuf(Danter).*

*Youth who were affiliated with CPIML in Kashmir were inspired by literature of Urdu especially Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sardar Jafri and the contemporary progressive poets and that of Krishan Chand, Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, Kaifi Azami and of the creative art.*

Only 6 (Pistols ), 7 revolvers mostly made in Czechoslovakia—a country which was already a member of Warsa Pact, bought from Baderwah, Sten guns 13not seen by all the top recruits were lying at Barsoo Safe- house[26] and 33 Sten guns at Charar-e-Sharief, it was the only weaponry available with this low profile armed resistance movement [27].

Liberation wars of Libya, Vietnamese and most importantly Palestine (1965-1968) had influenced upon the psyche of Kashmiri Youth, which prepared minds of local youth for taking arms against India[28] .

On November 14th, 1970, Saturday, the second meeting, in which Beigh categorically told Zehgeer that PF was ready to participate in upcoming Parliamentary Elections of 1971 by sending dummy candidates in Indian Parliament on the persistent pounding from influential PF activists of Anantnagbut Zehgeer rejected to support elections[29] .

His[Beigh's] concern was that Indian National Congress would, as it did in 1967, simply rig the elections, one major threat was the prospect of what Indians called " booth-capturing"— the takeover of voting centers by cadre of major party,who would simply stamp all the available ballot papers in favour of their candidates, then stuff the ballot boxes—Beigh argued that 'force is to be met with force' and members of Young Men's League were the only people available who could help PF to secure a respectable showing, but Zehgeer dissented over it[30] ….! This was the last meeting of Beigh with Zehgeer[31].

20th December 1970, Sunday Nissar Hussain Mir, the Captain of Rising Sports Club Anantnag, left game [viii] unfinished at 3.00PM, went to Srinagar by bus, to wait for any colleague was only about three seconds [ just to say …3000, 2000 and 1000….] as a part of cover Hamid Ullah Bhat had already reached the rendezvous[32] [Safe house Nishat Dalgate] and the plan to barge into Bank of Hazratbal was made on the late evening of the same day, on 21st Dec. 1970, Monday GRZ, Nazir Ahmad Wani, Nissar Hussain Mir and Hamid Ullah Bhat visited the site and had gone there by bus and came back by foot up to Sadrebal[33].

Thus on 2nd January 1971, Saturday, another robbery was made this time at Hazratbal Bank, to make robbery easy persons who participated in the robbery entered the bank premises in police uniform directly to the chamber of Bank Manager masqueraded in the positions of Dy S.P, Inspector, Sub-Inspectors, and plain policemen, one of the Bank Employee offered a greeting in Islamic manner, Asalam-u-Alaikum to Farooq Ahmad, posing as police inspector. Al' Fatah men politely asked the Bank Manager to stop working for a moment,, disguised in police uniform, Nazir Ahmad Wani posing as Dy. S.P, said that some embezzlement has been found in the cash transactions of the Bank, so ordered him to present the cash available at that time[Rupees one Lac(0.1million INR)] along with the cash register to put into a steel trunk, so that it can be defined in the Central Office. The Bank Manager and Cashier were also asked to accompany them, both were forcibly dropped at Sadderbal, where it was not possible for the two Bank Officials to reach to the nearest Police Station less than 30 minutes. The persons in the Taxi changed the police uniform and managed to reach Narwara.

After the successful robbery, when Zehgeer came to know about Islamic greeting [Asalam-u-Alaikum] episode, he got irritated and said to Farooq that why he[Bank Employee] has been left there, you [Al' Fatah operatives participating in robbery] should have brought him also. Farooq Ahmad was immediately dumped in the Safe- house of Shalimar at Barsoo, Pulwama[34].

This mistake led to the spotting of Farooq Ahmad. Mohammad Maqbool one of the clerks of the bank[who offered Islamic greetings to Farooq] told police that he identified one of the persons in uniform, who was his class fellow in 1967 in Shri Pratab College, then college authorities informed the investigating officer of the police that the full particulars of the person as Farooq Ahmad Bhat S/O Abdul Khaliq Bhat R/O Dudwan Sanawari.

Meanwhile According to Indian intelligence, Abdul Rashid Dar, President Young Men's League met Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh in Jammu on 7th and 8th January 1971, Beigh asked Dar for escalation of Anti-India activity [ix].

On 11th January 1971, Monday, the medical college hostel room in the possession of Farooq Ahmad pursuing degree in medicine and surgery was searched and amongst other old papers, exercise books, a small note book was also recovered. On one of the pages of this note book seven names were written. Some of the persons amongst were interrogated, and it was revealed that an underground organization namely Al' Fatah, the details of which have been mentioned above has been formed in the state and Farooq is one of its leading members. It was also revealed that one Mohammad Yusuf Mir S/O Abdul Rehman R/O Gogji Bagh Srinagar, a close friend of Farooq Ahmad was a prominent member of this organization[35]. Mohammad Yusuf Mir @ Tariq was arrested on the disclosure from the diary of Farooq.

Probably Mohammad Yusuf Mir @ Tariq [x] was responsible for the major exposure of Al' Fatah and similarly Syed Ibrahim exposed whole Al' Fatah V of North Kashmir. Later difference came to fore between Zehgeer [xi] and Nazir Ahmad Wani who blamed each other for the exposure and shielding their persons responsible for the expose', it was just like urban-rural rift, led to the creation of two lobbies, which later became two political parties with different ideologies [Pro-Independent and Pro-Pakistan]. But already one of the congress leader Ghulam Rasool Kar in a public speech at Sopore had said that an armed movement like Al' Fatah is about to start operations in Kashmir[36].

At the same time, 30th January 1971, Saturday, Kashmiri Muslim militants at 1305 hours carried out hijacking of Indian Fokker plane 'Ganga', while on its routine flight from Srinagar to Jammu. In total it was carrying 30 people including four crew members. This event brought Maqbool Butt and the Kashmir Issue to limelight in Kashmir, South Asia and at international level, hijackers demanded the release of 35 Kashmiri prisoners detained in various Indian jails.

Hashim Qureshi who hijacked the plane was an Indian Agent, seriously articulated in B.M Sinha's book "The Samba Spying Case".Qureshi was sent to other side of CFL by BSF, years earlier— to spy on Maqbool Butt's activities. According to Sinha[intelligence officer],after getting in contact with NLF, Qureshi changed sides, returned to Kashmir in January 1971, and arrested by former handlers. Qureshi according to the book "The Samba Spying Case" told BSF that he had been trained in Pakistan to hijack an Indian Airlines flight piloted by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's son and successor in office, Rajiv Gandhi. K.F Rustomji, the then BSF's Director-General, persuaded Qureshi to go ahead, but as an intelligence agent. According to Sinha's

version of events, Qureshi was to hijack a flight from Srinagar, and then "create the impression that he was a member of the Al` Fatah and was hijacking the plane for liberating Kashmir from India"[37]. Even though, Hashim has a different tale to tell [xii].

Early February 1971 Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh was approached by Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba at New Delhi [xiii] to lend a support for JeI [xiv].He out rightly accepted it and directed all the active PF members for supporting Jamaat but officially party was on election boycott.

In March 1971 Parliamentary Elections, JeI fielded candidates, for North and South Kashmir [forNorth Kashmir it was S.A.S Geelani and for South it was Hakeem Ghulam Nabi] Begum Abdulla was supporting Shamim Ahmad Shamim in Srinagar [Sheikh Abdulla was not the member of Plebiscite Front till 1974] and it was probably the unilateral decision of Sheikh. On the day of polling JeI [xv] boycotted elections at 1.00PM— an enigmatic move, which proved futile rather taken in mysterious circumstances. An absurd approach declared by Beigh in recluse behaviour, when he was called telephonically from Islamabad[Anantnag] about the erroneous step taken by JeI[38]. At 3-Kotla Lane House,New Delhi were Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh President PF was putting up [shifted some months back from Chanakiya Puri] issued a statement on the same day in a manner by asking Mridula [xvi] Sarabai's steno, Kazmi to take dictation with the contents that "Parliament Elections in Jammu and Kashmir were bogus and an embarrassment to the world democracy"—thus supporting JeI, first this sentence was missed in the script of press release done on the directions of Sarabai but Beigh recalled Kazmi for the requisite correction and virtually verbal fracas was witnessed between the Beigh and Mridula. Later press statement was sent to both Indian and International press for the publication, even for Kashmir Press[39]. The then District Election Officer Anantnag [DDC],Akber Khan asked Hakeem Ghulam Nabi to report election office on the day of counting saying that JeI seems to be in winning position but he[Hakeem] didn't turn up. One of the polling agent [1971 for Congress] said that they use to pile up ballots in such a manner that on top, middle and bottom of the mound congress polled votes were placed and then total number of votes were declared in their favour, otherwise JeI was winning 5th Lok Sabha Elections for Anantnag Parliamentary Constituency.

Meanwhile, Indo-Pak conflict was sparked by the Bangladesh Liberation war, a conflict between the traditionally dominant West Pakistanis and the majority East Pakistanis. [ The Bangladesh Liberation war ignited after the 1970 Pakistani election, in which the East Pakistani Awami League [xvii] won 167 of 169 seats in EastPakistan and secured a simple majority in the 313-seat lower house of the Majlis-e-Shoora (Parliament of Pakistan). Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rehman presented the Six Points to the President of Pakistan and claimed the right to form the government. After the leader of the Pakistan Peoples Party, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, refused to yield the premiership of Pakistan to Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, President Yahya Khan ordered the deployment of the military from the West Pakistan to suppress dissent in the East Pakistan dominantly populated by the Bengalis].

Mass arrests of dissidents began, and attempts were made to disarm East Pakistani soldiers and police. After several days of strikes and non-cooperation movements, the Pakistani military cracked down on Dhaka on the night of 25th March 1971, Thursday. The Awami League was banished, and many members fled into exile in India. Mujib was arrested on the night of 25–26

March 1971, Thursday-Friday, at about 1:30 am and taken to West Pakistan[40]. On 27th March 1971, Saturday, Ziaur Rehman, a rebellious major in the Pakistani army, declared the independence of Bangladesh on behalf of Mujibur Rehman. In April, exiled Awami League leaders formed a government-in-exile in Baidyanathtala of Meherpur. The East Pakistan Rifles, a paramilitary force, defected to the rebellion. A guerrilla troop of civilians, the Mukti Bahini, was formed to help the Bangladesh Army[41].

In the meantime in Kashmir, March-April 1971 [42] representatives of various youth organizations held a meeting to develop the commonalities among resisting groups of youth, which later on became a new political resistance party named as Unity Meet, led by Abdul Rashid Wani (A.R Wani) as President, Noor Mohammad Nanda, Chief Organizer, Me'araj Qureshi, Publicity Secretary, Sheikh Manzoor, Secretary and Ghulam Mohammad Sofi (Z.G Mohammad) [xviii] as Secretary. The sole aim of the organization was to pressurize India to allow impartial plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir, the only way for the solution of Kashmir imbroglio [43].

Popular Front [xix] was established in first week of May 1971, when difference cropped up between Abdul Rashid Dar(Young Men's League) and some youth. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh was declared Patron of Popular Front, Mohammad Yusuf Gilkar, President, Abdul Rashid Shah, political advisor, Mir Qaiser, General Secretary, Tariq Qayoom Khan, Chief Organizer, Abdul Aziz Shister(Iron), Organizer and Sheikh Tajamul Islam was also one of the members of the organization and setup five room rented office at Gawkadal paying an amount of 1700 (INR) per month. It supported Right to Self-determination rather complete Independence of Jammu and Kashmir based on the ideology of Maqbool Butt [xx].On 2nd August 1971, Monday, Mohammad Yusuf Mir (Verinag) came to Anantnag and dropped a letter at Shabir Shah's residence requesting him to come to Srinagar on 8th August 1971, Sunday to Karan Nagar along with his father[Mir's ], on that something different happened, instead of Shah security agencies [IB] caught hold of Yusuf [xxi] Mir[44], during dusk, late evening he straight away took the security party to Karan Nagar Srinagar to the place where Abdul Rashid Dar was hiding, Central Intelligence people tried to arrest him although they fired a round but he managed to escape, it drew the attention of state Kashmir with the cognizance of local police, then police arrested Dar on Monday 23rd of August 1971.[45] Government towards Central Intelligence Agency's operation in On the other side, the Indian Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, expressed full support of her government to the struggle for Independence by the people of East Pakistan. Exiled East Pakistan army officers and members of the Indian Intelligence [RAW with the active support of KGB] immediately started using refugee camps for recruitment and training of Mukti Bahini guerrillas. By November, war seemed inevitable; a massive buildup of Indian forces on the border with East Pakistan had begun. The Indian military waited for winter, when the drier ground would make for easier operations and Himalayan passes would be closed by snow, preventing any Chinese intervention. On 23rd November 1971, Tuesday, Yahya Khan declared a state of emergency in all of Pakistan and told his people to prepare for war. On the evening of 3rd, 1971 December Sunday, at about 5:40 PM, the Pakistani air force launched a pre-emptive strike on eight airfields in North-Western India, including Agra which was 300 miles (480 km) from the border. During this attack the Taj Mahal was camouflaged with a forest of twigs and leaves and drapedwith burlap because its marble glowed like a white beacon in the

moonlight. This attack, called Operation Chengiz Khan and Pakistan flew no more than 50 planes to India. As a result, Indianrunways were cratered and rendered non-functional for several hours after the attack [46] . In an address to the nation on radio that same evening, the then Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi held the air strikes as a declaration of war against India and the Indian Air Force responded with initial air strikes that very night that were expanded to massive retaliatory air strikes the next morning.

This marked the official start of the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the immediate mobilization of troops and launched the full-scale invasion[47], resulting into Territorial changes at eastern front— Bangladesh becomes an independent state. This had affected the common psyche of Kashmiris and a breakthrough for Indian establishment but disheartened political resistance leaders of Kashmir.

On 10th January 1972, Monday around 2.00 PM police produced Enemies Agent Ordinance and Conspiracy case of Al' Fatah in the court before Nilkant Ganjoo at Jammu, the judge appointed by government and the case was submitted through Additional Superintendent of Police, A.M Watali and three advocates from the state were present but did not have any counsel to defend Al' Fatah trialed persons, therefore asked a time gap of one month to prove the charges leveled against them are wrong— and demanded court that they must be given chance to talk and see each other. But, judge was talking in a language, as if he was representing police, court rejected th plea. And the proceeding was one sided. However, in jail all Al' Fatah detainees were debarred from the free jail movement[48].

On 17th January 1972, an Advocate from Jammu R.S Mehta entered to the court. Abdul Rashid Dar was already in knowhow of it, as information was passed by him to Mehta— President Jammu Bar Association, a renowned advocate— in court Al' Fatah detainees demanded more time and January 20th was fixed for hearing [49]. It was 15th January 1972, Tuesday a telegram has been sent by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh from New Delhi which we received on the same day saying ***'Ab. Rashid Dar detenue C.J.J (.) Please do not worry (.) Please don't worry(.) Arranging Defence (.)—Beigh[50].***

On 20th January 1972, Thursday, Advocate P. L Handoo and Advocate G.N Hagroo came but the Al' Fatah detainees out rightly rejected G.N Hagroo as the defence counsel, the big reason behind this was that he [Hagroo] approached for the compromise with the conditions that except Zehgeer, Nazir and Fazal, all others will be released[51], probably they might be taken as witnesses prosecutions against them [52], similarly Advocate Ghulam Rasool Kochak also approached to defend case but demanded 5000 (INR) per sitting, thus this offer was also rejected due to financial constraints[53]. And on the same day they [Al' Fatah detainees] appealed to the court that Advocate Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, Advocate P.L Handoo, Advocate Iqbal Krishan Kotwal, Advocate Hakim Sadiq and Advocate R.S Mehta should be taken as the defence lawyers.

On 26th January 1972,Wednesday, Speaker of Legislative Assembly, Abdul Gani Goni [xxii] visited Jammu Central Jail and ordered Jail Superintendent to show a movie to all detainees [xxiii] [under-trial or convicted] [54].

5th February 1972, Saturday, the Deputy of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh had given a press statement in New Delhi that people of Jammu Kashmir have to

find a solution within the framwork of Indian constitution but PF was fearing that Kashmiri people might react to it, after coming to Kashmir. Beigh was recieved warmly in the Kashmir valley, then he sent a telegram to Abdul Rashid Dar, President Young Men' League to Jammu Central Jail with the text, " Heavy Motorcade (.) Mammoth crowd(.)————Ab.Rashid Dar[55]."
Tuesday, 8th February 1972, Fourth Legislative Assembly elections held. In Jammu and Kashmir Congress secured 58 seats. Jamaat-e-Islami, contesting elections for the first time, won 5 seats. 62% voters cast their ballot.
On 21st February 1972, Friday court with regard to case of Al' Fatah appointed Advocate G.N Hagroo, Advocate Mehta, Advocate Handoo and Advocate Iqbal Krishan Kotwal as Amicus curiae. Again Al' Fatah detainees rejected Advocate G.N Hagroo as their counsel, on the same day their defence counsels discussed whether the trial will be joint or separate as 19 acts have been slapped upon the detainees. On this supreme court ruling was referred, prosecutor also tried to defend that the trial should be carried separately, however, decision was in favour of Al' Fatah detainees, which was announced on 25th of February 1972, Friday that the joint trial must be carried for[56]. On 25th February 1972 about the absconding accused persons of Pakistan by the Jammu Kashmir police in Al' Fatah case, two witnesses were produced in the court, Head Constable Ghulam Mohammad and Head Constable Ghulam Nabi, both recorded their statements which were contradicting to one another. Their statements were totally concocted as one witness said, " He had gone to Pakistan via Tral, Anantnag to search for Zaffar Iqbal Rathore of Pakistan.[57]"
In early March 1972 one of the Al' Fatah colleague fell ill in Jammu Central Jail but despite repeated inculcations to jail authorities for the lack of healthcare facilities and proper sanitation, doctor on duty was not paying any heed and all the Al' Fatah detainees protested over the inhuman approach adopted by him along with one of the jail official, Kotwal, to registered the protest they[Al' Fatah detainees ] locked doctor in the bathroom of the jail for the whole day[58].
Around April 1972, then Minister Prisons and Education, Kh. Abdul Gani Lone[xxiv] visited Jammu Central jail along with IG Prisons (Bakhdey) and met to the detainees had a healthy discussion, regarding pro-freedom and pro-India stances[but appreciated the dissent ]. Later on he told Jailor, "These boys are inseparable parts of our body and you must take special care of them and we [government] are going to take them back." And doctor along with Dy.S P (Kotwal) Jammu Central Jail, who maltreated the Al` Fatah detainees, were replaced [59].
On 20th May 1972, Saturday before the start of the court session, we[Al' Fatah men] sent tele-printed messages to Chief Justice of High Court, Chief Minister, Jail Minister saying that we are being pressurized by police and jail authorities, the copy of which was also sent to senior defence counsel Advocate Mohammad Afzal Beigh.
On 22nd of May 1972, Monday Gaffar Sofi recorded his statement and counsels cross examined, his statement which was contradictory to the statement given to police but he was the only witnesses till to the start of trial whose statements were favouring Al' Fatah detainees. It seemed as if Gaffar Sofi S/O Sultan Sofi R/O Letapora, Awantipora was severely tortured by police but still he gave the statement in favour of Al' Fatah trialed persons.

During identification instead of Zehgeer he pointed towards Mohammad Sayeed as Zehgeer, instead of Farooq Ahmad he identified Bashir Ahmad Zarger then Fazal Haq Qureshi. After the day's proceedings were over, one of the Al' Fatah detainee heard a police officer abusing Sofi while he was demanding water again and again.

On 23rd May 1972,Friday, before entering court Al' Fatah detainees received a telegram which had come to Superintendent of Jail Jammu, the text of the message: ***' Revision Admitted (.)File(.) Proceedings stopped (.) All well— Beg[60],***

However, the Judge said that he has not received any directive from High Court but considering the telegram as true he adjourned the court sine die.

Late June 1972, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh visited Srinagar Central Jail as Defence Council, used to encourage all the detainees. One of the Al' Fatah trialed person was undergoing a correspondence course in the prison, when Beigh came to know about it, gifted a tie pin to him."Look young men this is (Ristae Degcha [a special Kashmiri cuisine (small fried balls of chopped meat) in copper utensil (Cauldron) sent by Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla," Beigh Said on the same day[61] [to win the sympathy of Al' Fatah trialed persons ]. And Advocate Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh had made a commitment with Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer that for Amicus Curiae out of approximately 60,000 (INR) he will spend 20,000 upon detainees, 20,000 (INR) on Plebiscite Front (Mahaz-i-Rai Shumari) and rest on himself, because he was legal counsel without being given a single penny[62].

On 15th of June 1972 Al' Fatah detainees left Jammu late evening from Jammu Central Jail and reached Srinagar 16th June 8.00 AM and their three colleagues were shifted to Bagh-e- Mehtab interrogation centre[63].

On 2nd July, 1972, Sunday at Simla, India, an agreement between Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, President of Pakistan and Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India took place which naturally had a psychological effect upon Kashmiri thinking when ceasefire remained as Line of Control (LoC) under the clause; **in order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree** [xxv].

Plebiscite front also suffered a heavy jolt as a part to the pie of distress due to Indo-Pak war of 1972 and it literally gave up its stand of the Right to self- determination, and was in utter isolation in terms of finances and diplomatic support, as Pakistan was in deep crisis. Virtually a defeatist attitude developed in the rank and file of PF, led by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh with the pidgin of **Haarun** [defeat ].

Against Simla Agreement a letter heading Goodbye to Kashmir, criticizing the policies and role of Pakistan was sent by NLF in Pakistan to register the protest but it did not appear in any of the newspapers of Pakistan except in a magazine Outlook (Fortnightly) published from Karachi [64].

At the same time Nisar Sidiqi lauched Liberation Front[not to be taken as JKLF], just on papers to support right to self- determination [65].

When a statement on 8th August 1972, Tuesday quoting Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla appeared in one of the leading Newspapers of UK, he wrote to Ghulam Mustafa Alvi that he had been misquoted[66].

Afterwards Zulfiqar Ali Bhuttoo paid a three days visit to Azad Kashmir and to establish Governor House [xxvi] but pro- Independent activist protested in a manner that they raised the

slogans like '**Bacha Bacha Cutt Maray Ga, Kashmir Soba Nahin Baneyga'** [We will sacrifice even our children but Kashmir will not be allowed to become a province of Pakistan ].

At Mirpur, Aman Ullah Khan, Mir Manan, G. M Lone, Mir Qayoom, Ghulam Mustafa Alvi hijacked the stage for ten minutes, where Bhuttoo was about to address the gathering, raising the slogans like ***'Khud Mukhtar Kashmir Zindabad'*** [Long Live Independent Kashmir],and all where arrested at the askance of Zulfiqar Ali Bhuttoo but later released and a meeting was arranged for them at 1.00AM by Hafeez Peerzada.

During meeting Abdul Khaliq Ansari raised the slogans like, ' Qaid-e-Azam Zindabad,Sheer-i-Kashmir Zindabad, Maqbool Butt Zindabad, Abul Kalam Azad Zindabad'*[Long live Qaid-e- Azam, long live Sher-i-Kashmir, long live Maqbool Butt, long live Abul Kalam Azad]*Bhuttoo was told by NLF leaders to clear policy about Kashmir, he in response said that ' ***Siyasat Mein Koi Baat Hatmi Nahin Hoti Hai'*** [*In politics any* avowal *is never an ultimate]* andrest talk with Hafeez [67].

On 15th August 1972, Tuesday,Syed Ali Geelani[then MLA,Sopore]along with Advocate Hussam-Ud-Din and Ghulam Nabi Nowsheri came to Central Jail Srinagar to distribute Sweets (Pastry) among the prisoners. He tried utmost to provide the same to Al' Fatah under- trials but the offer was straight away rejected in a manner that everyone went to false asleep, wrapping themselves with bed covers in one of the Barracks, where majority of Al' Fatah men were lodged, although in another Barrack of the prison Nazir Ahmad Wani,Farooq Ahmad,Fazal Haq Qureshi,Ghulam Mohammad Naikoo,Khawaja Mohammad Shaban Vakil and Hamid Ullah Bhat accepted the pastry [68].

Probably 7th September, Thursday 1972, Al' Fatah detainees were shifted to a Special Jail in Srinagar and court was established for Al' Fatah trialed persons called as *'court for Al' Fatah cases'*[69].

In May 1973 several youth of Anantnag like Mohammad Sidiq Parrey [xxvii] and Mushtaq Ahmad Kanu and others were arrested on the charges of 'Book of Knowledge [xxviii] who protested against the book [70].

Similar like guerilla groups in 1973 were formed as a part of ersatz, named as Bomb Famb party headed by Nazir Ahmad Wani (Shiv Pora, Srinagar) and Manzoor Ahmad Dar of Batamaloo along with the other members who were arrested later, probably inspired by Al` Fatah like armed resitance module, while as a group of students namely Manzoor Ahmad Malik of Down Town Srinagar, Mohammad Asharaf and Ishfaq Hussain Handoo were booked under Enemy Agent Ordinance Act and a murder case was also slapped upon them in the same year (1973) Sheikh Nazir Ahmad presently General Secretary N. C acted as defence lawyer for this group and later case was set aside.

18th May 1973, Friday, an anguish was felt among, most of the Al' Fatah detainees at Central Jail Srinagar rather disappointed them, on charging Maqbool Butt, Asharaf Qureshi and Hashim Qureshi calling all of them as agents of Indian Intelligence, when Hashim Qureshi and Ashraf Qureshi Hijacked Indian Foker on 30th January 1971[71], when Pakistani court ordered for the rigorous punishment.

June 1973 at Central Jail Srinagar, photographs of two army officials were shown to Zehgeer which include Col. Bashir and Major Tufail, involved as absconding accused in Jammu and Kashmir Police case history, he[Zehgeer] told the intelligence Agencies of India that they were

not the persons wanted in the conspiracy case.This shows the charisma and commitment to the cause on behalf of Zehgeer [xxix] .

Friday,21st September 1973, first-time a unique protest was demonstrated in Anantnag town by Mohammad Ramzan Mishger supported by Nazir Ahmad Shah [Kath] Shuban Ji Razdan, Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Salati,ran for several days,on 'Fast Unto Death', Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh came and joined Misgher, and gave an amount of 111 (INR) as a part of damage control, Ramzan allegedly used to drink milk by utilizing JaJeer(Huka) [Hubblebubble] giving people an impression that he is on strike and smoke to satiate constant pangs of hunger. But Mufti Mohammad Saeed [xxx] was the person behind this show to create a parallel leadership against PF, although Ramzan Misgher earned a name in Anantnag Ramzan Soula-Kilo-Wala, because people of Anantnag were getting ration of 11kgs per person per month at the rate of 0.40 (INR) while as people Srinagar used to get 16kgs per person per month at the rate of 0.40 (INR), so Migher and his company demanded ration for Anantnag in parity with Srinagar.

On 28th October 1973, Sunday, Mohammad Altaf Khan of NLF delivered an expound lecture on religion and politics at Srinagar Central Jail [72].

After the release of all Al' Fatah persons[*Except Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Abdul Hai Baderwahi]* in January 1974, a breakaway faction of Young Men's League was formed in February 1974 at the askance of Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, led by Noor Mohammad as its President and Nisar Hussain Mir—Gen. Secretary and Bashir Ahmad Bhat Chief Organizer because GRZ was having suspicion that Abdul Rashid Dar was playing foul with the movement.

Meanwhile S. Hamid who was acting president of YML formed another faction[73] . In 1974, Bernard Veun Rub of NYT came to Kashmir to seek the view point of Kashmiri youth vis-à-vis Kashmir, Jagan Nath Sathoo working for New York Times in Jammu and Kashmir contacted Gilkar in this regard, who met Bernard in a house boat, along with A.R Wani, Tariq Qayoom and maintained to continue the resistance struggle like that of Palestine, supported the act of Laila Khalid. When the interview of Gilkar with several photographs appeared in NYT, after receiving three papers from Lloyds Bank Residency Road, he straight away went to Mujahid Manzil ( headquarters for PF), after meeting Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, while showing copy of the Newspaper, Sheikh was unhappy over it, ragtag and bobtailed him [74]

In the same year, Peoples Party was floated in Jammu and Kashmir by Shamim Ahmad Shamim, Ghulam Ahmad Bawan, Reyaz Punjabi, Bashir Ahmad Khan and others which was having a different approach and was focused on restoration of democracy and to struggle for civil liberties [75].

Tahir Muztar established Political Times as Owner, Chief Editor, with Javaid Makdoomi as associate/ Assistant Editor and Sheikh Tajamul Islam as Editor, openly supporting youth movements of Kashmir [76].

12th July 1974 a mass rally was organized by Awami Action Committee at Gole Bagh Srinagar, in which people in thousands participated. However, Raja Mohammad Ayub, Amma Zaroo and others made the requisite arrangements for making this function a success but Mohammad Yusuf Gilkar who spoke on the stage in favour of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, and among the audience Pro-Mirwaiz and Pro-Sheikh youth fought with each other due to which Mirwaiz Mohammad Farooq failed to address the gathering [xxxi] ,

although this whole event was being watched by Beigh from Custodian building along with Atta Ullah Suharwardhi and Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shah.

And Abdul Rashid Bakal (Mithea') and Mir Qaiser (Young Men's league) were also present on the occasion [77]. In almost mid of 1974, students of Kashmir University laid the foundation of Students Islamic Organization SIO, in University Hostel Room No. 25 by Altaf Hussain Tak, Habib Ullah Dar, Hamid Ullah Bhat, Azam Inqilabi as Chief Organizer, they were dissatisfied with the approach of Islamic Study Circle. SIO succeeded in establishing a firm base in Baramullah[78].

Another development took place simultaneously, when Zehgeer launched Pro-Independent political organization Peoples Revolutionary Front [xxxii](PRF) in late June 1974 with two offices, one at Srinagar in Neelam Chowk [Srinagar] and another at Reshi Bazar Ananatnag [Islamabad] with the slogan :"Freedom is our birth right," "And unification of Jammu and Kashmir[Wahdut]."

Which supported accord because Decca fall has badly affected on the psyche of Kashmiris[as stated earlier], even at political front, party thought about some space to foot upon—the focus on larger dimensions of greater autonomy for Jammu and Kashmir— for a way forward towards Independence[79].

Several persons of armed resistance movement [like Al' Fatah] were on parole, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh told Nazir Ahmad Wani to meet Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla on the restoration of his services as an Agriculture Officer, the moment he met him, he was straight away told, " What will I do?" See other job. "I don't believe in underground activities," Sheikh. This behaviour of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla disgruntled Wani [80], later on Nazir Ahmad Wani, Fazal Haq Qureshi, Ghulam Mohammad Naikoo, Hamid Ullah Bhat, S. Hamid and others floated Peoples League a Pro-Pakistan Political Organization[ a counter move to PRF] in which few members of Youth League, Young Men's League, Islamic Students organization [whole] and some selected Al' Fatah members amalgamated on 3rd October 1974,Thursday—persons who dissented in Jail, because main counsel Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh was giving more attention to Zehgeer and he started playing pivotal role, rather a leading one, Nazir Ahmad Wani and others thought that the role must be given to the person to be considered unanimously and this led to the formation of two lobbies in the jail, thus decided to launch new political organization with the broader understanding that Kashmiris alone cannot challenge India and Pakistan should be at the back and thus focused on better relations with Pakistan than other things, which could be achievable and address the peoples' demand, and pave a way for reconciliation, so supported accession with Pakistan[81].

Other thing was that Zehgeer probably was supporting the accord which was in offing with New Delhi [82]. But at that time accord with New Delhi was out of question and negotiations with New Delhi on the infamous accord started late 1973, so this argument proves null and void, already when the armed resistance group got exposed and literally there were differences of opinion among that Farooq Ahmad Bhat, Nazir Ahmad Wani, Mohammad Shaban Vakil and Fazal Haq Qureshi responsible for exposing top cadre of armed resistance movement headed by GRZ83. This was the main friction rather a controversy, similarly they were accusing Zehgeer for the mess and shielding Abdul Rashid Dar and Mohammad Yusuf Mir [Tariq ][83].

Another aspect was that on the first day of the hearing in court at Jammu, Zehgeer was provided a tie to project him as a leader, which led to the creation of Relational Conflict or A-type conflict with Nazir Ahmad Wani thus they[his few friends] started lobbying against the majority, [84]defence counsels like Mehta, P.L Handoo and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh used to meet GRZ regularly, Abdul Rashid Dar, Abdul Hai Baderwahi or other detainees from Jammu Province related to Al' Fatah and occasionally to Mohammad Yusuf Mir and not to Nazir Ahmad Wani and Fazal Haq Qureshi—a factor—led to the creation of Pro- Independent and Pro-Pakistan lobbies, surfaced later after the release of all detainees [85].

Moreover, Abdul Rashid Dar of Young Men's League was of this opinion that all must confess [xxxiii], they[Al' Fatah detainees] smell a rat, because there were no serious charges against Dar, it also led to the formation of one more foyer in jail[86]. But it is also true that GRZ was the last to be released from the Jail and Nisar Hussain, Mohammad Saleem Gilkar, Abdul Hai Baderwahi …[sic] were also released later, however, before Zehgeer[87].

In 1974 Dr. Farooq Abdulla visited Muzaffarabad and held meetings with Maqbool Butt and Amanullah Khan—founders of National Liberation Front (NLF)—an armed outfit formed to liberate Kashmir from Indian rule, he addressed a gathering of 7,000, at Rawalakot, 10,000 and the biggest one was at Mirpur where he addressed a gathering of 30,000 and raised a slogan **Choun Desh Meun Desh, Kashur Desh, Kashur Desh—your country my country, Kashmir State, Kashmir State**, tea was arranged for him by Subedar Khadim Hussain of Mirpur [88].

Farooq Abdulla reportedly took oath on Quran to work with the NLF for liberation of Kashmir. Bombay weekly **ONLOOKER** (now defunct) published photographs of Abdulla in company of Butt and Khan taking oath on Quran in its March 16-22, 1984 issue [xxxiv], but Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, one of the founding members of NLF refutes the event of the oath taking by Farooq Abdulla for joining the party."

When Dr. Farooq Abdulla returned from Muzzafarabad, he organized a huge rally in Srinagar's Lal Chowk, rally was also addressed by two London-based Mirpuri leaders of the NLF.

The rally was viewed by many people as rebellion by young Abdulla against his father Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla's upcoming Accord with then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. It was in this rally that Farooq Abdulla again coined the same slogan—**Choun Desh Meun Desh, Kashur Desh, Kashur Desh—your country my country, Kashmir State, Kashmir State.** The slogan caught the minds and imagination of many people in Kashmir.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, President PF stressed Students Union led by Mohammad Amin Sofi, a Pro-plebiscite group and Popular Front to come under same umbrella in 1974, then Maqbool-i-Mahaz was named the united organization, Beigh as its patron, Mohammad Yusuf Gilkar, President and Sofi was also provided a responsible post. Later on it declared Maqbool Butt as their leader, although some differences stirred- up over it but were cooped up easily. And in the same year United Front was formed by Ghulam Qadir Azad, Abdul Majeed Pathan,besides several others. It also supported the Right to Self-determination [89].

It is worth to mention that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutoo, President of Pakistan had promulgated well in advance about the strike call against the accord to be the Friday, without fixing a date, as Signing of Beigh – Parthasarthi concord, on 13th November 1974, Wednesday but Zehgeer was of the opinion to oppose the Bhutoo call, otherwise the call should come from any Kashmiri

leader, which will have the say and influence, maintained GRZ [90]. This approach led to the severe differences within the rank and file of the party and three day marathon meeting was convened in this regard, and at last every one supported the call but unanimous decision was to abstain, although at lower level the call was given full support but unofficially and on 15th February, Saturday, in Sopore anti- Abdulla procession was taken out opposing accord led by Ghulam Mohammad Khan Sopori, on this Ghulam Mohammad Bulla was arrested and killed in custody [91].

Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla was released after 22 years of imprisonment immediately after Beigh – Parthasarthi…[sic…] arrangement, then Indira- Abdulla Accord was executed in 1975, 24 February 1975 Saturday, the Indian Prime Minister said 'Clock can't be put back'. On behalf of the Kashmiri leadership the NC reiterated that the accession of the State of J&K is not an issue anymore.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutoo gave the strike call on 28th of February 1975, Friday as a part of solidarity with Kashmiris, to support their birth right, right to self-determination, PL—pro-Pakistan political party— had made preparations well in advance in support of the strike call, even by Molvi Mohammad Farooq's AAC, it affected normal life in Kashmir, streets and roads in the valley gave a deserted look and the show was a grand success [92]. S. Hamid and Shabir Shah the recruits of Yusuf Mir (Verinag)[93] in Young Men's League [joined PL], played the pivotal role to make strike possible, Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Abdul Razak, Fazal Haq Qureshi, Mohammad Rafiq Wani, Bashir Ahmad Tota, Farooq Rehmani, Mohammad Aslam Wani, Ghulam Rasool Nawaz, Zahoor Ahmad Sheikh, Mukhtar Ahmad Sofi, were the key runners for the strike[94]. Mohammad Shafi Misgher, along with Mohammad Iqbal Mir, Mohammad Altaf Jan and Abdul Rashid Misgher opened stonepelting front at Cheeni Chowk[not the members of PL] and took people to streets. In North Kashmir Ghulam Qadir Wani and Syed Abdul Wahid Kirmani launched an aggressive campaignparticularly in Baramullah district on the same issue[95] . Similarly complete shutdown was observed in Azad Kashmir also, people in general and members of ruling party in particular were abusing Sheikh Abdulla but Kashmiris were to some extent reserved in Azad Kashmir but in ultimate desperation[96].

After three days of Bhuttoo's strike call given against Indra-Abdulla accord, when Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and Afzal Beigh reached near Khanabal, Islamabad from Banihal on 3rd March 1975, Monday, PRF kept a large banner at display on the main gate of Degree College, Khanabal showing Kashmir on it as a country, Sheikh clapped on it and later kissed on the forehead of Zehgeer. Some youth shouted against the accord by calling it villainous and made an abortive attempt to attack the car in which Sheikh and Beigh were traveling[97].

On the same day, at historical Lal Chowk, people of Kashmir in Srinagar received Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla with warmth gestures, who addressed the huge gathering. Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh in his speech said that the 20 year struggle [PF] was Aawara Gardy [profligacy] a unembellished surrender on part of Shiekh and Beigh— later on took over charge of government in the state, all the cases of youth like Nawakadal murder case, Islamia College case and most importantly much propagated Al' Fatah case were promised to be taken back by state, and all the Al' Fatah members were released on Parole. But Sheikh Abdulla revived with full strength, the corruption started by his political predecessors, this time NC leader was a

changed person not the lion which people use to call him —along with his trio [Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh,Devi Das Thakur and Sonum Norbu [xxxv] ] , institutionalized corruption.

By-elections in Devsar assembly segment of Anantnag district and Ganderbal were called, Zehgeer and PRF started campaigning for Independent Kashmir in Devsar and gave Maqbool Butt a heavy projection[98]. Who at that time was under detention with severe charges, on this Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh called Zehgeer and daunted him[99]. Which resulted into a rethought to their political activities and Beigh was now trying to make them an expandable pawns to serve the interest of Beigh [100]. The office of PRF was run on the tuition fee raised 10.00 Paisas ( 0.10 INR) to the poor and needy students on weekly basis to meet the expenses incurred as running charges for the office at Reshi Bazar Islamabad (Anantnag), having the faculty like Gulzar Ahmad Khaki, Jawwad Hussain Reshi, occasionally by Maqbool Malik to teach, Science, Mohammad Saleem Gilkar and Mohammad Shafi Misgher used to teach English, Mathematics and Social Sciences but the overall supervision was done by Nissar Hussain Mir[101]. Financial crunch led to closure of the main office at Neelam Chowk— a property of Saif-Ud-Din (Neelam)— and sub-office at Reshi Bazar, both were closed by compensating rent charges with the surrender of office furniture [102].

Al' Fatah case, Islamia college case and other like cases, were supposed to be withdrawn by the NC immediately after the transfer of power but that did not happen, later on Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla in a public rally at Srinagar declared the conversion of PF into NC, announcing Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh as the President of the party, burying the slogan of plebiscite into a subterranean grave, this move disheartened some of the PF activists and even the youth who were grilled by police in various charges. On this Sofi Mohammad Akber was the first senior PF leader who openly opposed the accord [xxxvi] and then Akber parted away from the party but N.C maintains that their was an agreement with New Delhi that they [India] will windup Congress Party in Jammu and Kashmir so will N.C close the much hyped P.F but afterwards India reneged from the promise, as in the past [103]. And in last months of 1975, Abdul Rashid Dar YML merged with NC.

Late 1975 or the beginning of 1976, a resolution was passed in Anantnag Bar Association about the non-entry of Badami, an IB inspector, who was a very close friend of Advocate Premnath Bhat [use to share everything with each other], Mohammad Yaqoob, Advocate G. N Kochak, Advocate G.N Hagroo, Advocate Hussam-ud-din and loosely Advocate Nazir Ahmad but only after 3 days Badami reported in the premises of Anantnag Court,were he was asked to leave, in retaliation he threatened Abdul Rashid Dar, even Kath about the dire consequences. On the other hand he was pressing to S.P Anantnag [A.M Watali] for the arrest of Advocate Mohammad Sultan, an active member of JeI, because both Jamaat and RSS were banned by State government, as already emergency was declared in India [104].

In May 1976, Maqbool Butt entered Kashmir against the advice of many of his friends and colleagues. This time he entered valley with Abdul Hammed Butt and Riaz Dar. Mir Shahida Qayoom used to support Maqbool Butt in his adventure of guerilla warfare— a post graduate in Political Sciences[105].

Soon, after entering valley in ending May or beginning June [106] 1976, was monitoring a delegate session of NC called at Jammu, in which people of R.S Pora and Akhnoor participated,

who were raising slogans in their own lexicon 'Abdullay Zindaabad' [Long live Abdulla] one accompanying Butt asked to throw a grenade on the public, which he was carrying, he later said that these are our own people and our fight is not with them[107].

Sana Ullah Magray, a Bank Manager at Lanagate was killed by Reyaz Dar[108] but unsupported version subscribe that he was mistakenly fired by Ramzan Shikari (Hunter) because Bank Manager and Maqbool Butt had reached to the understanding that he[Maqbool] needed an amount of 4000 (INR) and promised the manager to pay back after returning from Azad Kashmir , for the cover Butt had made a dramatic scene so that people believe that dacoity had really taken place, he straight away took Magray to the nearest orchard, where Shikari was looking for the prey when, he heard the noise, Ramzan directly fired upon Sana Ullah by his 12 bore rifle, which brought the attention of police and made arrest possible[xxxvii],— and the diary of was recovered from a nearby stream by a women present there, who later, on the same day told police about it and then police came to know about Maqbool, otherwise they thought he was a simple criminal, next day when Alvi came to know about the arrest of Butt in Muzzaffarabad, directly went to clinic of Dr. Farooq Haider at Rawalpindi and told him that Maqbool has been arrested, this news perturbed him to the great extent[109].

But, whatever may be the Prima Facie evidence, it is clear from both the cases of murder [Amar Chand and Sana Ullah Magray] that Maqbool[xxxviii] was not involved in the crime[110]. Perhaps in ending June or beginning July 1976 a meeting of PRF was held—pros and cons of Kashmir resistance movement were discussed with the special focus on finances and it was decided that everyone who is the member of the party must get adjusted to an appropriate position in government as employees or start their own business, this was also discussed individually[111].

Abdul Gani Lone[xxxix] along with Mohammad Asharaf Khan besides other eight MLA's defected in LA and gave support to NC in Assembly, Thursday 16th March 1977 Congress-I withdrew support to the Sheikh Abdulla government and on Friday 17th March 1977 Governor's rule was imposed in J&K.

On the other hand a meeting of erstwhile Al' Fatah men[selected persons] on non-party basis [without consideration of PRF], was called over Assembly elections in Jammu and Kashmir at Islamabad ( Anantnag) in mid-April, 1977[112] presided by Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer and attended by Gulzar Ahmad Khaki, Mohammad Maqbool Malik, Nisar Hussain Mir and some senior leaders. Deceit done by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh was brought into discussion, one person[113] in the meeting floated an idea that they should field Nissar Hussain Mir against Afzal Beigh with the condition to decide further course of action seconded by Maqbool Malik. However, it was unanimously decided to boycott Assembly Elections of 1977, the only option left, at the same time anti- Sheikh Abdulla procession was taken by female students from Rani Bagh Anantnag, for his bad policies over Kashmir, which was also joined by daughter of P.L Handoo.

PRF an amalgam of Young Men's League, Youth League, Unity Meet and Al' Fatah, which Zehgeer,on 7th May 1977, Saturday converted into Pro-Independent political organization Mahaz-e-Azadi at Golbagh Srinagar headed by Sofi Mohammad Akber— erstwhile leader of PF, canvassing to this event was done by Zehgeer and Jameel Shaheen, although the move about

PRF formation was taken by GRZ [xl], seconded by Bashir Ahmad Bhat, Nisar Hussain Mir, Abdul Hai Baderwahi, Mohammad Iqbal Beigh [ but not joined MeA], Gulzar Ahmad Khaki [not joined MeA], *Ghulam Hassan Shaksaz [not joined MeA], Bashir Ahmad Zarger [not joined MeA],* but all strongly supported him [Zehgeer] in jail—Sofi Abdul Rehman, Mohammad Maqbool Malik, Mohammad Iqbal Mir, Mushtaq Ahmad Pandith,Ghulam Mohammad Lara,Mohammad Shafi Misgher and Ghulam Hassan Ganai were accompanying Sofi Mohammd Akber [xli] at Golbagh.

12th September 1976, Sunday, Delhi-Jaipur bound Indian Airlines aircraft was hijacked to Lahore by resistance activists, Hamid Diwani [died in 1993], Mohammad. Rafiq, Abdul Rashid Malik, Mohammad. Ahsan Pathan, Gh. Nabi Bhatt and Gh. Rasool Shaheen.

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh in the same year (1976) had arrived to a stage, where he was about to shun politics and was completely dejected because of several reasons, and one among them was parallel role of Ghulam Mohammad Shah in N.C, and was in suspicion that Kashmiris might be thinking that they ( Sheikh and Beigh [xlii]) have failed to restore even 1953 position on Kashmir but in early 1977 at Jammu airport[114], Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla put his right arm on the right shoulder of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh and convinced him to participate in Assembly elections, which was obeyed by Beigh, on the reasons that he used to give full respect and love to his leader, Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and he gave up his earlier stand.[115]

Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh started aggressive campaign and proved a crowd puller for N.C usually showing salt wrapped in green handkerchief as a part of damage control.Mandates were allotted to those people who were either the relatives of top rank party leaders or their friends, creating confusion in the rank and file of National Conference. Organisational outlook appeared more autocratic in character than the democratic one— with totalitarian command. In a protest,Dr. Abdul Majeed Shiekh, Advocate Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Shawl, Advocate G.R Kochak, Advocate Abdul Samad Tak and several others contested on the ticket of Janta Party [116]. Even, Ab. Rashid Dar contested on the ticket of Janta Party for Shangus constituency [xliii], encouraged by Kh. Ab. Gani Lone—then a tall leader of Janta Party. Ab. Rashid Dar even delivered a speech against Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh at old Mattan Adda, the rally was also addressed by Ab. Gani Lone.

Two days before Assembly Elections of 1977 for anti-election campaign a Tanga (Chariot ) arranged by Nissar Hussain by paying 5.00 (INR) for the full day while as public address system arranged by Malik Maqbool free of cost from Ghulam Rasool Moori, who was running a radio shop in main Chowk Anantnag, tanga went every nook and corner of Anantnag town calling, 'Boycott', 'Boycott', 'Election', 'Boycott' and saying, " **Aay Allah Hamein Apnoun Sey Bachow, Garoon Sey Hum Khud Hi Nipat Layein Gey"** [Oh` Almighty save us from our own people, enemies will be dealt of our own] "— a slogan coined by Maqbool Butt, drew a very little attention of people towards them at Lal Chowk, Mattan Chowk and Mehandi Kadal of Anantnag town. Sunday 3rd July 1977, Fifth Assembly elections held. National Conference secured 44 seats, followed by the Janta Party with 13 seats and Congress-I with 11 seats. 67% voters cast their ballot.

9th July 1977,Saturday, Sheikh Abdulla sworn as the Chief Minister with a massive mandate and later on, withdrew all the cases of youth pending in various courts of the state [xliv].

September 1977, on the persistent advice of several youth, affiliated with SIO, was converted into Islami [Jamait-e-Tolba [xlv]], led by Sheikh Tajamul Hussain and Abdul Hamid Khan [117].

In 1978 the Indian Supreme Court restored death sentence on Maqbool Butt and he was transferred to Delhi's Tihar Prison. The Black Warrant issued by Judge Nilkant Ganjoo in a special court issued on 17th August 1968 against Maqbool Butt was endorsed by Jammu Special Judge Puttar Singh [xlvi] and he [Butt] was hanged to death on 11th February 1984, Saturday at 7.30AM, while as the legal team was waiting for Maqbool Butt's case to be reopened on the grounds of flaws in the trial of the convicted for murder.

## Notes

i. Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer born 1941, was not having any political background, nor was he, by any stretch of imagination, from amongst the ranks of Kashmir's oppressed. Having matriculated from the Nawakadal High school in Srinagar in 1958, Zehgeer had joined the Amar Singh college, but dropped out after just a single year of studies. For the next several years, he hopped from job to job, first working as a travelling salesman and then for a Kashmiri businessman in the Indian commercial hub of Bombay. He left this job soon afterwards, and returned to Kashmir to work as a clerk at a local government office in Sonawar, Srinagar, but this job did not last long either. On the eve of the beginning of his political career, in November 1964, Zehgeer was appointed as a clerical assistant at Kashmir University. Zehgeer died on 4th June 2004 due to throat cancer.

ii. Mixed economy was the outlook of Indian State to run financial system, much focused on Public Sector Units .

iii. Qari Saif Ud Din maintained that PF disheartened Kashmiris,and is on way to Delhi[supporter] and want to come within the reach of escapism – first step towards this was to organize peoples convention at Mujahid Manzil, which was inaugurated by J.P Narain. I was also invited. In the beginning everyone stood on their principle stand, expressed their viewsbut some concrete steps were to be taken for the resolution of Kashmir, already decided –and the solution is to be carved in such a manner that it should give boost to the secular forces. On this issue I objected, because to empower secular forces literally means India, secularism is the slogan of India.
I further said that to call a convention in Kashmir, one gets clear that we [Kashmiris] are not associated with any of the state. Whether to accede with Pakistan or to makeconditional[temporary ] accession with India permanent or to make an agreement with both about the creation of Independent state. In fact, keeping in view I will not use any such a word or phrase, which will give an impression that where our leadership is heading.[probably arrested on these charges, for a period of two years].
Source: Syed Ali Geelani,Wullar Kinaray, Urdu, Markazi Maktaba, Tehreek-e-Hurriyat,Srinagar,2011.p552. Balraj Puri, Vaid Bhasin and O.N Trichel also expressed their views, and even presented papers.

iv. After one and a half month painstaking efforts on the intervening night of Sunday/Monday, 8th and 9th December 1968, he successfully escaped from the Jail along with Mir Ahmad and Yasin Badana, crossed over to other part of Kashmir via Kamalkot area, and in AJK subjected to ill treatment, lodged in notorious interrogation centre of Pakistan Administered Kashmir.

v. It was April 1970, when Abdul Rashid Dar was coming in the vehicle of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, when the vehicle reached Barsoo, Pulwama, he asked the driver to stop the vehicle, earlier told Beigh that he had some piece of work at Barsoo, the movement Dar came down from the Jeep, the driver followed him on the directions of Afzal and later on conveyed the same to Beigh, another twist took to the scene, one of the Al' Fatah operative of Bidderwah was purchasing some material from a nearby shop, later on discussion took place on Dar's coming to safe house Shalimar and stopping of Jeep, it led to several suspicions among all the active members of the organization. On this matter court of Al' Fatah was summoned at Srinagar's Safe house Nishat attended by Nazir Ahmad Wani, Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Mohammad Yousuf Mir and others, major proposal was the execution of Dar, for leaking the secret. Then it was left to Zehgeer for the further decision, he directed Dar to use all of his possible abilities, so, that Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh will support the armed resistance movement, because Beigh had no other option but to support it, if he could have negated the offer then probably

that might have proven counterproductive to PF, President in terms of political market especially among youth, who were at forefront.

Narrated by Mohammad Yousuf Mir, one of the founding members of Young Men's League.

vi. Late 1968, Shabir Ahmad Shah had close proximity with CPI(ML) and was influenced by Naxalite movement. He also attended several meetings of CPI(ML) but did not join. G. N Malik remained hidden at the home of Shabir Ahmad Shah for several days, when wanted by police . In 1972, joined Students and Youth League and finally to Peoples League.

Narrated by Ghulam Ahmad Ganie then activist of CPI(ML)[then a close friend of Shabir Shah] and Ghulam Nabi Malik, General Secretary Kisan Tehreek of [CPIML] ),later he[Shabir] joined Young Men's League finally to Peoples League.

vii. Later on two groups allegedly to be Naxalites in Kashmir[Jammu and Kashmir] emerged, one was led by Ram Paira Saraf, supported by Abdul Kabir Wani[Haanad, Chawalgam Kulgam] and another by Krishen Dev Sethi, supported by Gh. Mohammad Malik and Mohammad Yusuf(Danter).

Youth who were affiliated with CPI(ML) in Kashmir were inspired by literature of Urdu especially Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Sardar Jafri and the contemporary progressive poets and that of Krishan Chand,Khawaja Ahmad Abbas, Kaifi Azami and of the creative art.

Kashmiri literature of Abdul Ahad Azad, Ghulam Ahmad Mehjoor had influenced the CPIML youth of Kashmir, they had also their own like-minded organ Aaa'sh, not the official one. Basically were young angry men having antiestablishment tendencies and the concern of human sufferings in Kashmir. When we were arrested on the charges of Pulwama robbery, we were not even knowing a single persons of Al' Fatah, which talks of their well structured organizational network and after the exposure of whole Al' Fatah, we came to know that some of them were our friends and relatives. We were not armed but something wrong was lurking in establishment, probably that they might lift arms as a means of struggle or resistance, no matter it was one of our options. We put one of the segment of Srinagar Jail on fire and in assault one police person was killed and we were shifted to Jammu, then to Kuthua and finally to Reasi, were, we demanded up- gradation of class to Pakistani detainees and several other jail mates.

Source: Manzoor Ahmad Khaki.

viii. Final for the Cricket Tournament played between Islamia Cricket Club Anantnag and Rising Sports Club Anantnag— venue [Anantnag], the Chief Guest of the function was Superintendent of Police Anantnag [Koitroo] and Guest of Honour Principal Degree College Anantnag.

ix. But on 15th January, 1971, Friday Abdul Rashid Dar called Nissar Hussain Mir of Anantnag telephonically to his friend's residence situated at Reshi Bazaar, Anantnag at 9.30PM, phone first picked up by Prof. Ghulam Mohammad Qazi, Zaamtur [Son-in-Law of the family]— a renowned Mathematician, Critique, Analyst of is times—but Dar Managed to divert his attention, Qazi told to in-laws that some person with bad manners is calling, Nissar and his friend understood and immediately rushed to the phone extension and attended the phone call and Dar advised Nissar, not to go underground, police has suspicion not the proof, about Al' Fatah. And Abdul Rashid Dar met Zehgeer one day earlier and told everything about Jammu, even confirmed by Abdul Rashid Dar.

x. A recruit and close friend of Farooq, a member of Al' Fatah V, arrested on Tuesday, 5th January 1971 and after third degree interrogation, broke down and made the arrest of Nazir Ahmad Wani possible on Saturday, 16th January 1971 and even revealed to the police that Nizam a Captain or Vice Capitan of Rising Sports Anantnag was the active member of armed organization both persons of Cricket team were arrested. Same day [16th January1971] evening Nazir Ahmad Wani straight away identified Nissar Hussain Mir at Red 16

Interrogation Centre Sonwar, Srinagar.

xi. Rehman[Zehgeer] had reposed complete trust upon the cadre of South Kashmir and Doda, it was the main reason that major activities and decisions were taken from Anantnag.

xii. It was nonsensical and argued that the then NLF cadre could be counted on the fingers of hand, in defence Hashim stated in an article which appeared in a Jammu based newspaper, quoting KH Khurshid in his defence. Why did Yaha's military destroy the plane? Because by then it had decided to jettison East Pakistan and also because it was inept beyond belief with some very strange notions. Source: Friday Times, Lahore,Pakistan, April 11th 2003, Vol. XV No:7 Article: The Truth about the Ganga Hijacking /By; Khalid Hassan

xiii. Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and Afzal Beigh were living in exile at New Delhi.

xiv. Although earlier name of Abdul Gani Madhoosh was subscribed by PF members of Anantnag for contesting Parliament Elections but he [Madhoosh] rejected the offer, which were in offing.

xv. It was rumoured that on the day of polling Ghulam Rasool Imam, Ameer-e- Tehsil Jamaat was slapped by Mufti Mohammad Saeed at Bejbehara, in a protest he [Imam] shouted "Boycott Boycott"—a political publicity stunt— in quid pro quo contributions, received an amount of 7000 (INR) and galvanized roofing sheets for his house[a common perception ]but denied by family members of Ghulam Rasool. And supporters of Shafi Qureshi went to various places of Anantnag Parliamentary Constituency mostly by buses displaying flags of JeI and shouting for election boycott, a plan constructed by Mufti Saeed, when some active supporters of Jamaat came to know about this issue in the afternoon, they straight away went to Ghulam Ahmad[Shah]Ahrar [then Ameer-e-Zila(District President) of the party]at Anantnag [Islamabad] who expressed ignorance —straightforward and a simpleton person. Several polling agents of JeI were ruthlessly beaten up and some threatened for dire consequences, thus the Parliamentary Elections in Kashmir were completely rigged. But from declassified versions one gets the clear picture that Hakeem Ghulam Nabi was an honest, dedicated human being but became of victim of mistaken pronouncement.Source: Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din Baba, 2012.

xvi. Mridula Sarabai was a lady Parliamentarian, who used to support Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh in their political adventurism, even monetarily.

xvii. Awami League had won elections on the issues, which were dangerous for the existence of Pakistan, like multiple currencies in one country, which in itself means to challenge the writ of one state.

xviii. Later Joined N.C Youth Wing (Gen. Secretary), Mufti Mehra'ej as President.

xix. Neutral commentators say that behind the making of all these organizations and the differences within was Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, to keep his writ.
Source: Prof. G. M Shad.

xx. Dr. Khaliq Ansari, President Plebiscite Front (Azad Kashmir unit ) and Majeed Amjad Bhat, Editor (weekly Wullar), Urdu of Azad Kashmir, wrote a letter to Mohammad Yousuf Gilkar for supporting Independence and on 13th July, Monday, Mohammad Yousuf Gikkar, Mir Qaiser and Gazanfer Ali met Sofi Mohammad Akber at martyrs graveyard in Srinagar and were arrested by police on the charges of fomenting law and order problem in Srinagar.

xxi. Arrested, on 8th August and released on December 1972 on Parole.Who was the 1st General Secretary of PF. Source: Prof. G.MShad.

xxii. Who was the 1st General Secretary of PF. Source: Prof. G.M Shad.

xxiii. Except Al' Fatah detainees and 'Upkaar' of Manoj Kumar was arranged for all the detainees.

xxiv. Kh. Abdul Gani Lone was an astute politician and having the mettle of political prognosis, not a pro-Indian.
Source: Prof. G. M Shad.

xxv. In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from threat or the use of force in violation of this Line(sub-clause ii) .

xxvi. Citation needed, whether it was the Governor house or something else.

xxvii. Parrey in 1994-94 turned renegade [counter militancy leader] and later was killed by militants.

xxviii. It was only Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, who was knowing about the availability of Book in the college. Because all the volumes of the "Book of Knowledge" belonged to the mission school library, Anantnag. Where, Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh had been a student. The library books of Mission where transferred to Govt. Inter College Anantnag in 1950.
Source: Prof. G.M Shad )

xxix. Only five persons were detained in Srinagar Central Jail in 1973, which include Ghulam Rasool Zehgeer, Abdul Hai Baderwahi, Nisar Hussain Mir, Mohammad Saleem Gilkar and Mohammad Yousuf Mir@Tariq.

xxx. Mufti Mohammad Saeed was putting at the rented house, belonging to Mohammad Islmail Haji at Reshi Bazar Anantnag and a teacher Maharaj Krishan Tickoo used to teach his children, where he[Tickoo] had seen Mohammad Ramzan Mishger usually on different discourse. Adjacent to the rented house of Mufti Mohammad Saeed was a baker and his very close friend Ramzan[Letthem ] who was an illiterate but quite often used a word 'Let Them' thus became his nickname.

xxxi. However some neutral commentators say that the plan was actually prepared by Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh at the behest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla. The motive behindthis was to disrupt and

intimidate Molvi Mohammad Farooq ( The successor of 'Bakra' Party. Further his activities were to be curbed ( i.e. keep within "Molvi- Limb"Source: Prof. G. M Shad.

xxxii. Supporting United Jammu and Kashmir, Right to Self-determination and Independent Kashmir.

xxxiii. To show that Al' Fatah men were the real crusaders.
Source:Mohammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag].

xxxiv. Writer Nirmal Mitra said that "these photographs were handed over to us by Mufti Mohammad Saeed.

xxxv. Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla used to Call Sonum Norbu a golden sparrow.

xxxvi. Mirza Mohammad Afzal ridiculously told him to leave the Mujahid Manzil.

xxxvii. Then second time given death penalty by the State court of Kashmir.

xxxviii. On 29th May 1977, Aman Ullah Khan formed JKLF in Birmingham, UK and declared Maqbool Butt as a leader of the Party, when he was in Indian jail.

xxxix. Later on Ab. Gani Lone contested 5th Assembly Elections of 1977 on the ticket of Janta Party and June 1979 he formed J&K People's Conference.

xl. Zehgeer remained active for a short spell of time in MeA, quit politics and started his own business, a Joinery Mill at Ashaji Pora[Moominabad],Anantnag under the name and style Yakoot, several commentators say that domestic compulsions made him to take such decision and even though advised by top brass of the party at that time like Bashir Ahmad Bhat not by Sofi Mohammad Akber, in place of GRZ, Advocate Mushtaq Ahmad Pandith was taken as General Secretary of MeA.

xli. Sofi Mohammad Akber was the senior leader of PF, who openly opposed Indira- Abdulla accord and as per some classified reports he was indirectly in contact with Mohammad Yusuf Bach, former diplomat of Pakistan—unofficially supporting independence of Kashmir, narrated by Ghulam Mustafa Alvi, 2012.

xlii. For Sheikh- Beigh differences during accord preparations and after the accord Shahim Ahmad Shamin was to some extent responsible for the mess, because Afzal Beigh was the most influential personality in whole NC after Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla. The secret part in alienating Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla from Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh was played by Begum Abdulla[ Akber Jahan], who had pressed her husband to patronise Dr. Farooq Abdulla and declare him his successor. This slingshot killed two birds in a single go ( Ghulam Mohammad Shah and Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh). Source:Mohammad Yousuf Gilkar.

xliii. In March 1976, Abdul Rashid Dar was expelled from NC by the active lobbying of Mohammad Yaqoob Beigh, Abdul Gani Shah[Veeri] and Abdul Salam Deva, when the party election of NC were taking place, at that time NC, President Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh was in London in connection with Parliamentary Conference. Malik Ghulam- Ud-Din and Sona Ullah Bhat were supporting Abdul Rashid Dar for Tehsil President seat of NC, but some NC non delegates voted during elections, which led to the severe quarrel within the party manifold, started by Abdul Rashid Nanvai [not the delegate of NC] and Mohammad Yaqoob Beigh was declared elected as Zonal President of NC. After the return of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beigh, he declared the Dar's expelling unconstitutional and retained his membership, but later came under domestic pressure and revoked his decision.

xliv. On the intervention of Chaudhary Charan Singh, by the persuasion of some members of Young Men's League.Source: Mohammad Yusuf Mir[Verinag].

xlv. It's basic idea was propounded by Maqbool Butt and not by Sheikh Tajamul Hussain, mostly misinterpreted.In the first it was started in three colleges—Government Degree College Anantnag and Government Amar Singh College Srinagar, then by G. M Konga [ Degree College Baramulla], Mohammad Yusuf [Bejbehara], G.M Shad was also affiliated with it but party was different in its structure than that of JeI owned, Jamait-e-Tolba. Narrated by Prof.G.M Shad.

xlvi. Even the approval given by NC government led by Dr. Farooq Abdulla then the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

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**Photos of Zehgeer@Gaznavi@Rehman@Maqbool@GRZ**

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